

# Community

## Parish Group Finds:

# Giving Money Away Is No Simple Trick

**"The remark zoomed the discussions into orbit. It ranged all the way from racial prejudice to currency convertibility, the missile lag, the population explosion, the nature of Communism, and various estimates of Kennedy's chances in November . . ."**

EARLY THIS year I sent the following note to the president of the Catholic Men of St. Cyprian's parish:

"I am worried about the surplus of \$208.12 in our treasury and would like to offer the suggestion that we adopt some struggling overseas missionary parish.

"Two-thirds of the world's population live in areas that produce one-third of the world's food. Between 7,000 and 9,000 people on this planet die daily of malnutrition. Two-thirds of the human race does not get enough to eat.

### Stay in Channels

"The project would have to secure the approval of our chaplain, our pastor, our Bishop, the American Hierarchy, and Pope John XXIII. You know the position of the laity in the Church today. We must stay in channels at all costs.

"What would be involved would be a pledge for 1960 to contribute a minimum of \$5.00 a month to help build the Church in some missionary territory.

"The advantages would be:

- Link our parish with the missionary apostolate of the Church on a Catholic person-to-person basis.
- Contribute to the defeat of Communism on some critical battlefield.
- Provide an opportunity to obtain first-hand information on present-day conditions in some missionary parish.
- Give an additional incentive to the men of our parish to identify themselves with our Society.
- Demonstrate Catholic leadership as an example to other parish societies and to other lay organizations across the country.
- Discharge our Catholic responsibility to be lay apostles to the limit of our capacity in a very troubled world.
- Return gratitude to God for the many blessings showered upon our Society and our parish."

Our president, Joe Crawford, a successful advertising man, thought well of my suggestion. He approved my further recommendations that the money be sent to a veteran missionary in the West Indies who was trying to improve the living standards of his people through credit unions and various self-help enterprises. The per capita income of about three million people in the West Indies Federation averages \$3.00 a week.

### Splendid Idea

"A splendid idea," Joe said. "Let's bring it up at the next officers' meeting.

As I was the Society's Second Vice President In Charge of Cultural Affairs, I attended this meeting. Our chaplain

and six other laymen were also present. Joe called the meeting to order in the parish school library. I thought the project would be approved very quickly. I was wrong.

Our chaplain remarked that an elaborate ecclesiastical clearance would not be necessary. If the officers voted approval, the entire Society would undoubtedly take on the project at the next Communion breakfast.

### Men Agreed

The men nodded their heads. The resident recognized Frank Alonzo, retail merchandizing.

"I think it's a swell idea," Frank said. "But I was just wondering whether our initial contribution ought not to be \$10.00. Our Society will not meet until February and maybe we ought to take care of January when we authorize our treasurer to send off our first money in February."

The President recognized Henry Glotz, physician.

### \$60.00 a Year?

"I'm all in favor of what we're doing," Henry said. "But I think we ought to send \$60.00 for the entire year, all at one time, rather than send our contribution five dollars at a time."

The President recognized Daniel Krutch, government worker.

"The project appeals strongly to me," Dan said. "But I have a nephew, the son of my sister Kate, who is doing some excellent work on Formosa or Taiwan. I'm sure he would be mighty grateful to our Society for whatever help we could send him. I'm not saying that the Jesuits aren't doing good work in the West Indies. What I do say is that the Franciscans on Taiwan are doing a terrific job."

The President recognized Harry Glover, lawyer.

### Genuine Inspiration

"This project is a genuine inspiration to me," Harry said. "I give it my hearty approval. But I have heard that if a missionary receives a private contribution of \$5.00, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome deducts \$5.00 from his monthly allotment, and so the missionary is at a stand-still. What I mean is, we really wouldn't be helping him."

Our chaplain observed that the Society for the Propagation of the Faith does not send a monthly contribution to all missionaries in every part of the world. He said that he felt reasonably certain that the Jesuit missionary in the West Indies would not be appealing for help if he was already being supplied with funds by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

The President recognized Christopher Heller, building contractor.

"The project should have our approval," Chris said. "But I would like to inquire whether we will send our contribution by regular or air mail. This raises a further question. Will we subtract the amount of the postage from the \$5.00 or will our Society absorb the postage expense and send the missionary the entire \$5.00?"

### Penny Sale

"Thank you very much, gentlemen," the President said. "I think all of us realize that there is very little we can do in the Church or for the Church. This is the chance of a lifetime. I would like to clear away this project at this time, if there are no objections, because the most important item on our agenda tonight is whether our Society will sponsor a penny sale. There is very little that the laity are permitted to do. But at least we might try to make up our minds whether to have a penny sale in the parish under the auspices of our Society."

"The parish has no debt now," Harry Glover objected.

"That's right," the President replied. "But a penny sale is a good means of getting the men of our Society to work together and to become better acquainted with one another. Let's vote now on the mission project and then go on to the penny sale."

### Jamaica

"Mr. President," Frank Alonzo said. "I don't think we have fully discussed this perfectly thrilling West Indian affair. For example, I was thinking that we must face the problem that Jamaica is a part of the West Indies Federation."

"That isn't important," Henry Glotz said. "What counts is that we're trying to help out in the missionary apostolate."

"The West Indies Federation is British," Alonzo said. "Don't you see? British currency. I think we ought to talk to the international department of one of our big banks to see how we should go about getting American dollars into a British possession."

### No End Yet

I thought this was the most stupid, tiresome, irritating, long-winded, petty discussion I had ever listened to. But the end was not yet in sight.

"It is my understanding," Dan Krutch said, "that most of the people in the West Indies are, well, that is to say, colored."

"So what?" Chris Heller snorted. "We have no race problem in St. Cyprian's parish because we don't have any Negroes."

"Good thing," Krutch said. "I got out of Washington and bought a house in the suburbs just to get away from them. For all I know, these West Indians practice voodoo and are members of the NAACP. If we go on helping Negroes, encouraging Negroes, molly-coddling Negroes, we'll all end up with switch-blades in our backs!"

### Fish or Cut Bait

"Gentlemen," Joe Crawford interrupted, "we Catholics do an awful lot of talking about the equality of all men before God, about human dignity

(Continued on page 6)



## EDITORIAL:

# Police and Minority Groups; The Need for Professionalism

WE RECENTLY had the pleasure of participating in the Sixth Annual National Institute on Police-Community Relations, and were so impressed with the content of its program that we are printing in this issue the edited papers of three of the speakers: Lou Radelet, Thurgood Marshall and Dr. Mel Ravitz.

This week long institute was sponsored by Michigan State University with the cooperation of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The theme that kept recurring, the problem that was on everyone's mind, was the relationship between the police and minority groups—and specifically between the police and the Negro.

There were about a dozen of us "race relations professionals" at the institute but at least 70 per cent of the participants were police officials. They came from every section of the country and represented our largest and our small-

est police departments. More important, they represented almost every point of view—from the Negro officer who felt that nothing would ever improve, to the retired New York City policeman who had realistic answers, to the officer from Texas who would not sit at the same table with a Negro.

The trend over the past decade has been to try to convince police officers that they must act as professionals in all situations and not let their personal feelings influence their performance. The wisdom of this approach, as contrasted to our earlier attempts at "educating" the police and eliminating their prejudices, was well demonstrated at the institute. The officer from Texas probably will not feel any differently toward the Negro students attempting to eat at the dime store lunch counter, but hopefully, as a result of this experience, will treat them differently.

—JEB

## Views

**Chicago.** According to Professor Philip M. Hauser, chairman of the University of Chicago's Department of Sociology, and former acting director of the United States Census, the American Negro is becoming more, not less, segregated in large cities.

Professor Hauser said that the Negro is gradually moving outward toward the suburbs, and acquiring better education and jobs. However, where other immigrants did this as individuals and became assimilated, the Negro is moving as a group, taking his segregated ghetto with him. This is a result, said Professor Hauser, of prejudice against the Negro, and of the fact that his movement toward metropolitan areas

is more rapid and in greater numbers than was that of other immigrants.

**Kalamazoo, Mich.** The first Negro ever to win the title, Grace Hayes has been elected as the May Queen of Kalamazoo College. Miss Hayes is one of only five Negroes among the college's 639 students.

**Louisville, Ky.** "The exclusion of persons on account of race, color, or creed from business establishments catering to the general public violates the moral and ethical principles of our religion and . . . we abhor the injustices inherent in such practices."

With this statement, Louisville's rabbis pledged themselves to work for elimination of segregation in business establishments here.

**Washington, D.C.** The new civil-rights bill over which Congress has struggled



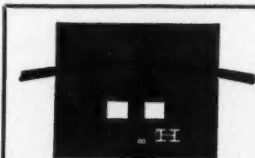
## What Was It We Thought We Settled?

for several months became law when President Eisenhower signed it on May 6. The bill, designed to protect the voting rights of Negroes and other minorities, was called by the President "an historic step forward in the field of civil rights."

"With continuing help from all persons," said the President, "The new law will play an important role in the days ahead in attaining our goal of equality under law in all areas of our country for all Americans."

The new law sets up a procedure under which the attorney general could file suit in cases where there is an apparent pattern of discrimination against the exercise of voting rights. If it is found that discrimination exists, court-appointed referees could listen to complaints from those who had been discriminated against. If such persons were found to qualify under State law, the referee could order that they be allowed to register and vote.

Attorney General Rogers said that he hoped for voluntary elimination of discrimination at the polls, but that if it was not forthcoming the Justice Department would immediately investigate complaints and "proceed vigorously."



**FRIENDSHIP HOUSE**  
4233 South Indiana, Chicago 53, Ill.

JOHN KEARNEY will become Executive Director of Friendship House effective July 1, David James, chairman of FH's advisory board, announced June 6. Plans were also announced for a field program directed from the Friendship House national center in Chicago by Miss Mary Dolan.

"With the closing this month of the New York City Friendship House—the last 'local' center of the movement," Kearney explained, "Friendship House's activities in New York and other areas will be under Miss Dolan's supervision out of the national office." For the past four years Miss Dolan was executive director of Friendship House.

Immediate plans for a field program call for developing representative participation from other regions in Friendship House's Interracial Weekends July 15-17 and August 19-21 at Childerley Farm near Chicago, and for strengthening in those areas the circulation and impact of **COMMUNITY**.

Future plans include: visits by the field secretary and other FH personnel to various centers in the country, for lectures and for study sessions with lo-

cal leaders of interracial movements—sharing ideas and experiences. Also planned are experiments in training other groups in the Visiting Workshop technique, which has been developed at Friendship House's national center during the past four years.

Newly-appointed director, Kearney is a former migration specialist for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, department of labor. He is also chairman of the National Fair Credit Practices Committee.

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

- **DR. JOHN O'CONNOR**, Professor of History at Georgetown University, is President of the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice.
- **JEAN HESS**, a librarian in Louisville, Kentucky, regularly contributes our "Views" column.
- **LOUIS A. RADELET** is Director of the Commission on Community Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.
- **THOMAS GAITHER** is a student at Clafin College. **PATRICIA STEPHENS** is a student at Florida A. and M. Their articles were supplied by the Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York.
- **THURGOOD MARSHALL** is Chief of the Legal Division of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- **RUSSELL BARTA** is Executive Director of the Adult Education Centers of Archdiocese of Chicago.
- **ANNE TAILLEFER** writes for the *Catholic Worker*. Her review first appeared there.
- **DR. MEL RAVITZ** is Professor of Sociology at Wayne State University, and is the Senior Sociologist for the Detroit City Plan Commission.

## READERS WRITE:

### Urges Readers Write Congressional Leaders About Migratory Labor Legislation

Dear Editors:

An important legislative battle may soon take place in the Congress on bills which will seriously affect the future of migratory agricultural labor.

On June 30, 1961 the law which authorizes the Mexican Farm Labor Program, "Public Law 78," will expire unless it is extended. This law, originally passed as a temporary expedient during the war to supplement the shortage of farm workers at that time, has been extended periodically and the number of workers imported has increased enormously.

Two bills will be important. They are: **H. R. 9875**. This bill, introduced by Rep. McIntire, would extend "Public Law 78" and would also amend it to prohibit the Secretary of Labor from issuing regulations to protect the wages and conditions of employment for United States farm workers. If this bill is passed, the already abysmal conditions of migrant farm workers can be expected to get worse rather than improve. This bill has been reported favorably to the House Agriculture Committee by one of its Subcommittees and it, or a bill similar to it, may reach the floor of the House in the next few weeks at which time it will be debated and voted on.

**H. R. 11211**. This bill, introduced by Rep. McGovern, would also extend "Public Law 78" but with a number of important amendments.

- It would reduce the number of imported Mexican farm workers by 20 per cent each year until it would be terminated in 1966.
- It would also reduce the adverse effects of this program on United States farm workers by clarifying the author-

ity of the Secretary of Labor to regulate the importation and wage scale of foreign workers where necessary to protect domestic farm laborers.

You and your readers can help by voicing your opinion to your Congressmen and Senators, asking them to vote against H. R. 9875 (McIntire Bill) and to give favorable consideration to H. R. 11211 (McGovern Bill).

Monsignor George Higgins of the NSWC has done an admirable job of testifying before the House Committees in Washington, but when the bills come to the House for a vote, the interest of each Representative's constituents will sway his vote one way or the other.

Letters and petitions from individuals and organizations to local Congressmen and Senators, personal visits with them when they are at home or in Washington, telephone calls and newspaper publicity are very important. Anything you can do to mobilize the individuals and groups with whom you have contact to do any or all of these things will be a significant contribution to help improve the conditions of farm workers.

This office will be glad to help you in any way it can. Write or call us if there is anything we can do.

Sincerely,

**VERY REV. MSGR.**

**WILLIAM J. QUINN**

Executive Secretary

Lester C. Hunt

Executive Assistant

Bishops Committee for

Migrant Workers

1300 S. Wabash

Chicago 5, Illinois

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# Police and Community Relations

## Policemen May Have Personal Bias But As A Professional He Must Be Unbiased Symbol of Equal Justice

**P**OLICE OFFICERS are not, by and large, any more mischievous in the field of community relations than are other forces of community leadership. Yet it should be clear that the true professional attitude will avoid the extremes of sorting out the "good guys" and the "bad guys." To do this, it seems to me, is simply to create another axis for "we-and-they" thinking in community relations. There is a middle ground on which to stand, recognizing the actual, rather complex mixture of good and bad in each of us, whether we are police officers, teachers, clergymen, or what have you. Implied in this is the point that we take to be the fundamental assumption in the development of police leadership in community relations. Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker referred to this point in his 1955 address to the National Institute on Police-Community Relations, when he said, "social order is the first concern of those interested in improved community relations." Chief Parker was speaking of civil law. But if we look behind civil law, we discover an ultimate law. It would appear obvious that the Great Architect of the universe placed heavy emphasis upon the necessity of order. The space scientists of our time are finding this anew in the physical laws of the outer atmospheres, just as Galileo and Newton and Einstein found it in their times and references. It is assumed, further, that this design of an ordered universe

includes mankind, at the highest level of created things in the natural order. But man was created with a dual nature, i.e., with a capacity for chaos as well as with a capacity for order. Love versus hatred; mind versus matter; spirit versus flesh; order versus disorder. And if order does not prevail, society collapses. Therefore, we may conclude that social order, with justice, is the fountainhead of the ideal community toward which mankind constantly strives. This, you see, is the essential point when tensions and conflict arise in community relations. It is expressed commonly in the plea that "the peace of the community must be preserved." Our Republic prides itself in its system of government by law. And the popular symbol of government by law—of social order with justice—is, of course, the law enforcement officer. It is his primary task to enforce the law, with equal justice for all, to preserve the peace of the community.

### Police Professionalization

Forthwith, spelled out in positive terms, is the crucial role and responsibility of the law enforcement officer in community relations. His potential force for moral good in society is substantial. Now add to this the trend toward professionalization in modern policing. It is enough to say that the development of police leadership in community relations assumes a professional approach to the law enforcement function.

The ever-greater emphasis upon professionalism and training in law enforcement today goes hand-in-hand with the increasing complexity of the work in the contemporary community. All of us tend to resist the seemingly inexorable trend toward making our job tougher, more complicated, more challenging. Surely parents feel this way sometimes about their responsibility in rearing children for effective democratic citizenship in a time of unprecedented change. Likewise do police officers tend to resist what they sometimes classify as "all that sociological and psychological poppycock." But then, does some elementary skill in delivering babies in a patrol car qualify a police officer to practice obstetrics? You will agree that there are times when it is handy to know something about such things!

Police Commissioner Stephen Kennedy of New York City puts it this way:

"Consider the role of the police in a vast community composed of millions of people, each one not a statistic but a person having a body and soul—a community where virtually every language is spoken, where the customs, manners, beliefs and prejudices of almost every culture are present. The problems presented are highly complex and most difficult, and not susceptible to easy, over-simplified solutions. The performance of police duties must be carried out with ever-increasing skill, accompanied by a better understanding of the basic motivations which cause those who come into contact with the police to act as they do under varying conditions and in changing circumstances. In short, I am of the opinion that it is not only what the police do in the discharge of their duties that is important, but how they do it."

### Change in Police Methods

Now this suggests that a police officer may have his personal prejudices, as all of us do, but as a **professional** he must remain the unbiased symbol of equal justice at all times. This, you may say, is a somewhat Olympian goal, implying an almost super-human capacity. Yet it is the precious legacy of law enforcement to strive for this lofty ideal. The police officer of which we speak is a far-cry from times past. Fortunately, the frontier characters of old, whose main activity was throwing their weight around, have largely disappeared from the modern police force. There remain only a few officers here and there who would be more at home in the Old West. We still have strong-arm methods in making arrests and in securing evidence, especially with certain groups in the community—procedures which enforce personal prejudice first, and perhaps the law later. Particularly in traffic cases, there still are police officers who behave somewhat unprofessionally. And unfortunately, there are those in the community who take this kind of behavior as typical of all police officers. Related to this is the tendency to blame the police for all manner of social problems. Small wonder that police are inclined to be a bit defensive! Generally speaking, a police agency will be as professional as the community it serves **demands** and **supports**. It is time for the community to stop scapegoating the police for social bankruptcy!

### Social Change

This increasingly complex modern community which the police officer endeavors to serve is a matter requiring special attention. For example, there is the manner in which people are moving around; one study shows that one person in five in the United States today changes his place of residence each year. This is a movement of about 31 million people annually, with a large proportion moving across state lines. Social change, as it affects people-to-people relationships in our time,



The State of Oregon has an integrated police force.

has reached a point where historians wonder whether the human psyche can adjust to it. Current best-sellers deal with aspects of the situation, and their titles are provocative: **INDIVIDUALISM RECONSIDERED; THE LONELY CROWD; THE SANE SOCIETY; THE ORGANIZATION MAN; THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS; THE POWER ELITE; THE STATUS SEEKERS.** While we are, in fact, more interdependent than ever in this world that has become, so to speak, no bigger than an orange, our relationships with one another tend to be more and more mechanical, automatically controlled, impersonal, detached, even indifferent and apathetic. Our energies and our emotions have gone into **things**. These things serve us, but they also come between us. And the things take on an authority that men accept without protest. Even in the way in which we give to the needy nowadays, we do it through an agency, and our contribution becomes a statistic, rather than a life-line thrown out directly to a fellow who is in need.

### Brotherhood

We speak of Brotherhood in high-sounding language. And yet this point of our essential interdependence is as earthy as a detergent. It places a high value on the right to be different. Freedom means difference, and when people differ, there will be inevitable (and I would say indispensable!) conflicts of interest. The acid test of Brotherhood in community relations is in how we deal with our important differences—the extent to which we turn conflicts of interest to constructive rather than to destructive ends—without, if you please, questioning the motives of others whose views differ from ours, or maligning their good name, or impugning their rationality or their patriotism. We learn from one another only as we develop respect for those who differ from us.

I do not mean to "preach." I am still talking about the community and about the needs of people who live and work and play in our communities. The police officer is **part** of this community, not apart from it. There is more to his leadership potential than "maintaining good public relations." On the other hand, it need hardly be said that the police officer is not alone responsible for the maintenance of order and justice. He plays a key position on the community team. But it must be a team, in which he is joined by the teacher, the clergy, the alderman, the business man, the labor leader, the social worker, the newspaper editor and all the others.

—Louis A. Radelet



you're invited to

## Friendship House Interracial Weekends

July 15-17 and August 19-21, 1960  
at Childerley Farm, near Chicago

schedule includes: sung mass . . . today's challenge . . . roots of prejudice . . . suburbs and new neighbors . . . sit-ins . . . a parish in transition . . . history of segregation . . . divine office . . . friendship house programs for your town . . . world of color: the new africa . . . conflicts among newcomers . . . bible vigil recommended reading . . . human relations groups . . . fun . . . new wonderful friends . . .

For information, to apply, or to help sponsor a worthy applicant, please contact: Friendship House, 4233 South Indiana Avenue, Chicago 53, Illinois.

(Also—Work and Study Week openings now and year-round.)



# Student 'Sit Inners' Relate Experiences

## I Was Arrested And Placed In Stockade With 350 Other Students In Orangeburg, S. C.

ON MARCH 16 many newspapers throughout the world carried a photo showing 350 arrested students herded into an open-air stockade in Orangeburg, South Carolina.

I was arrested later in the day while marching in protest in front of the courthouse. I didn't realize until scrutinizing the stockade photo much later, that the scene was unusual—to say the least—and would provoke questions from newspaper readers unfamiliar with the local scene.

What were all these well-dressed, peaceable-looking students doing in a stockade? Why weren't they inside the jail if they were under arrest? How come that such un-criminal-appearing youths were arrested in the first place?

### Inspired

The story begins about a month before when we students in the Orangeburg area became inspired by the example of the students in Rock Hill, first South Carolina city where lunch counter sit-ins occurred. We, too, feel that stores which graciously accept our money at one counter, should not rudely refuse it at another. We decided to request service at Kress' lunch counter.

But first, we felt that training in the principles and practice of nonviolence was needed. We formed classes of about 40 students each over a period of three to four days. Our chief texts were the pamphlet "CORE Rules for Action" and Martin Luther King's inspirational book, "Stride Toward Freedom." In these sessions we emphasized adherence to nonviolence and discussed various situations which might provoke violence. Could each one of us trust our God and our temper enough to not strike back even if kicked, slapped or spit upon? Many felt they could discipline themselves in violent situations. Others were honest enough to admit they could not and decided not to participate until they felt surer of themselves on this issue.

### Choose Spokesman

After the initial briefing session, two group spokesmen were chosen: one from Claflin College and one from South Carolina State College. Their duty was to chart action plans for February 25. They checked the entrances of the Kress store and counted the number of stools at the lunch counter. The number of minutes it takes to walk from a central point on campus to Kress' was timed exactly. From our training groups, we picked 40 students who felt confident in the techniques of nonviolence. After further training and some prayer we felt prepared for action.

At 10:45 A.M. on February 25, students from Claflin and South Carolina State left their respective campuses in groups of three or four, with one person designated as group leader. The groups followed three routes, walking at a moderate pace, which would ensure their arriving at the store simultaneously.

The first fifteen students went in and sat down at the lunch counter. After they had been there about a quarter of an hour, signs were posted saying that the counters were closed in the interest of public safety.

### Seats Removed

The first group then left and another group of about 20 students took their seats. The manager then started removing the seats from the stands. Each student remained seated until his seat was removed. A few students were jostled by police. A number of hoodlums were in the store, some of whom carried

large knives and other weapons, unconcealed. However, no violence occurred. By closing time the seats were still off their stands and nobody was being served.

We returned to the store next day, following the same plan of action. At first the seats were still down but by 11:30 those at one end of the counter were screwed-on and some white people were served. We students stood along the rest of the counter until 3:30. By this time, additional students had joined us and were several rows deep. At 4:00 P.M., the store closed.

The next day, Saturday, we decided against sitting-in. We had sought and obtained clearance from the chief of police to picket and we were prepared to start on Monday. However, no sooner had some 25 students started picketing than they were ordered to remove their signs or face arrest. They were informed that an anti-picketing ordinance had been enacted that same day.

### Trash Cans

Inside the store, the counters were stacked with trash cans. Not more than two Negroes at a time were being permitted to enter. Each day our spokesmen checked the counter. Meanwhile some 1,000 Claflin and South Carolina State students were receiving training for the mass demonstrations which were to follow.

The first such demonstration started at 12:30 on March 1. Over 1,000 students marched through the streets of Orangeburg with signs saying: "All Sit or All Stand," "Segregation is Obsolete," "No Color Line in Heaven" and "Down With Jim-crow."

Not long after reaching the main street, the marchers were met by a contingent of state police who requested identification of leaders and asked that the signs be taken down. The group leaders were informed that they would be held responsible for any outbreak of violence and that if this occurred, they would be charged with inciting to riot. There was no violence. Only two persons were arrested, and these were not participants.

### Boycott

After the March 1 demonstration, the lunch counters were closed for two weeks. With a view to strengthening our local movement and broadening it on a statewide basis, the South Carolina Student Movement Association was established. I was named chairman of



Students in Orangeburg Stockade. Some were soaked by firehouses and had to remain here in sub-freezing weather.

the Orangeburg branch. We initiated a boycott of stores whose lunch counters discriminate.

March 15 was the day of the big march—the one in which 350 students landed in the stockade. The lunch counters had reopened the previous day and a sit-in was planned in addition to the march. Governor Hollings had asserted that no such demonstration would be tolerated. Regarding us, he said: "They think they can violate any law, especially if they have a Bible in their hands: our law enforcement officers have their Bibles too."

Of course, we were violating no law with our peaceful demonstration. As for the law enforcement officers having their Bibles, they may have them at home, but what they had in their hands the day of our demonstration were tear gas bombs and firehoses, which they used indiscriminately. The weather was sub-freezing and we were completely drenched with water from the hoses. Many of the girls were knocked off their feet by the pressure and floundered around in the water. Among the students thrown by the water were several physically handicapped students—one of them a blind girl.

### 500 Arrested

Over 500 students were arrested. One-hundred-fifty filled the city and county jails. That's why some 350 were jammed into the stockade, surrounded by a heavy wire fence about seven feet high. The enclosure ordinarily serves

as a chicken coop and storage space for chicken feed and lumber. There are two tall iron gates. It afforded no shelter whatsoever in the sub-freezing weather.

In contrast to the cold outside, students in the jail's basement were sweating in 90-degree temperatures emanating from the boiler room. One student drenched from head to toe was locked in solitary in a cell with water three inches deep. Requests for dry clothing were denied. The Claflin College nurse who came to give first aid was halted at the courthouse entrance and literally had to force her way inside.

I was arrested with a group of some 200 students marching around the courthouse in protest over the earlier mass arrests. At first police told us we would be permitted to march if we kept moving in an orderly manner but then they announced that unless we returned to the campus at once we would be arrested. I was seized first as one of the leaders and was held in jail for four hours.

The trials of the arrested students started next day, a few students at a time. All were eventually convicted of "breach of the peace" and sentenced to 30 days in jail or \$100 fine. The cases are being appealed to the higher courts.

Meanwhile, our action program proceeds. We are set in our goal and, with the help of God, nothing will stop us short of that goal.

—Thomas Gaither  
Claflin College

## From Woolworth's Counter To Tallahassee Jail

I AM WRITING this in Leon County Jail. My sister Priscilla and I, five other A. and M. students and one high school student are serving 60-day sentences for our participation in the sit-ins. We could be out on appeal but we all strongly believe that Martin Luther King was right when he said: "We've got to fill the jails in order to win our equal rights." Priscilla and I both explained this to our parents when they visited us the other day. Priscilla is supposed to be on a special diet and mother was worried about her. We did our best to dispel her worries. We made it clear that we want to serve out our full time.

Students who saw the inside of the county jail before I did and were released on bond, reported that conditions were miserable. They did not exaggerate. It is dank and cold. We are in what is called a "bull tank" with four cells. Each cell has four bunks, a commode and a small sink. Some of

the cells have running water, but ours does not. Breakfast, if you can call it that, is served at 6:30. Another meal is served at 12:30 and in the evening, "sweet" bread and watery coffee. At first I found it difficult to eat this food. Two ministers visit us every day. Sundays and Wednesdays are regular visiting days, but our white visitors who came at first are no longer permitted by the authorities.

### Time to Think

There is plenty of time to think in jail and I sometimes review in my mind the events which brought me here. It is almost six months since Priscilla and I were first introduced to CORE at a workshop in Miami. Upon our return we helped to establish a Tallahassee CORE group, whose initial meeting took place last October. Among our first projects was a test sit-in at Sear's and McCrory's. So, we were not totally unprepared when the south-wide pro-

test movement started in early February.

Our first action in Tallahassee was on February 13. At 11:00 A.M. we sat down at the Woolworth lunch counter. When the waitress approached, Charles Steele, who was next to me, ordered a slice of cake for each of us. She said: "I'm sorry: I can't serve you" and moved on down the counter repeating this to the other participants. We all said we would wait, took out our books and started reading—or at least, we tried.

The regular customers continued to eat. When one man finished, the waitress said: "Thank you for staying and eating in all this indecency." The man replied: "What did you expect me to do? I paid for it."

### Just Sit

One man stopped behind Bill Carpenter briefly and said: "I think you're doing a fine job: just sit right there."



A young white hoodlum then came up behind Bill and tried to bait him into an argument. Unsuccessful, he boasted to his friends: "I bet if I disjoin him, he'll talk." When Bill didn't respond, he moved on. A number of tough looking characters wandered into the store. In most instances the waitress spotted them and had them leave. When a few of them started making derisive comments, the waitress said, about us: "You can see they aren't here to start anything." Although the counters were closed 20 minutes after our arrival, we stayed until 2:00 p.m.

The second sit-in at Woolworth's occurred a week later. The waitress saw us sitting down and said: "Oh Lord, here they come again!" This time a few white persons were participating, secretly. They simply sat and continued eating, without comment. The idea was to demonstrate the reality of eating together without coercion, contamination or cohabitation. Everything was peaceful. We read. I was reading the "Blue Book of Crime" and Barbara Broxton, "How to Tell the Different Kinds of Fingerprints"—which gave us a laugh in light of the arrests which followed.

At about 3:30 P.M. a squad of policemen led by a man in civilian clothes entered the store. Someone directed him to Priscilla, who had been chosen our spokesman for this sit-in. "As Mayor of Tallahassee, I am asking you to leave," said the man in civilian clothes. **Arrest Ordered**

"If we don't leave, would we be committing a crime?" Priscilla asked. The mayor simply repeated his original statement. Then he came over to me, pointed to the "closed" sign and asked: "Can you read?" I advised him to direct all his comments to our elected spokesman. He looked as though his official vanity was wounded but turned to Priscilla. We did too, reiterating our determination to stay. He ordered our arrest.

Two policemen "escorted" each of the 11 of us to the station. I use quotes because their handling of us was not exactly gentle nor were their remarks courteous. At 4:45 we entered the police station. Until recently the building had housed a savings and loan company, so I was not surprised to observe that our cell was a renovated bank vault. One by one, we were fingerprinted.

After about two hours, the charges against us were read and one of us was allowed to make a phone call. I started to call Reverend C. K. Steele, a leader of nonviolent action in Tallahassee whose two sons were involved in the sit-ins. A policeman stopped me on the grounds that Reverend Steele is not a bondsman. I heard a number of policemen refer to us as "niggers" and say we should stay on the campus.

#### Released

Shortly, the police captain came into our cell and announced that someone was coming to get us out. An hour later we were released—through the back door, so that the waiting reporters and TV men would not see us and give us publicity. However, the reporters were quick to catch on and they circled the building to meet us.

We were arraigned February 22 and charged with disturbing the peace by riotous conduct and unlawful assembly. We all pleaded "not guilty." The trial was set for March 3. A week prior to that date the entire A. and M. student body met and decided to suspend classes on March 3 and attend the trial. The prospect of having 3,000 students converge on the small courtroom was a factor, we believe, in causing a two-week postponement.

Our biggest single demonstration took place on March 12 at 9:00 A.M. The plan was for FSU students, who are white, to enter the two stores first and order food. A. and M. students would arrive later and, if refused service, would share the food which the white students had ordered. It was decided that I should be an observer this time rather than a participant because of my previous arrest.

## Police Should Destroy Image Of Policemen As Oppressors of Rights Of Minority Groups

**IT HAS BEEN** said that it may well be the judgment of history that our governmental authorities faced no more vital issue than the problem of prejudice and racial discrimination. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that recent court decisions and other legal developments, spurred by the activities of private voluntary organizations such as the N.A.A.C.P. and stimulated, in addition, by the development of human relations as an applied social science,

#### Corps Arrives

The white and Negro students were sitting peacefully at the counter when the mayor and his corps arrived. As on the previous occasion, he asked the group to leave, but when a few rose to comply, he immediately arrested them. As a symbolic gesture of contempt, they were marched to the station in interracial pairs.

After the arrests many of us stood in a park opposite the station. We were refused permission to visit those arrested. I rushed back to report this on campus. When I returned to the station, some 20 students were with me. Barbara Cooper and I, again, asked to visit those arrested. Again, we were refused.

Thereupon, we formed two groups and headed for the variety stores. The 17 who went to McCrory's were promptly arrested. The group headed for Woolworth's was met by a band of white hoodlums armed with bats, sticks, knives and other weapons. They were followed by police. To avoid what seemed certain violence, the group called off the sit-in at Woolworth's and returned to the campus in an orderly manner.

#### Peaceful March

We asked the president of the student body to mobilize the students for a peaceful march downtown. He agreed but first tried, without success, to arrange a conference with the mayor.

However, the mayor was not too busy to direct the city, county and state police who met us as we neared the downtown area. There were 1,000 of us, in groups of 75—each with two leaders. Our hastily printed posters said: "Give Us Our Students Back," "We Will Not Fight Mobs," "No Violence," "We Want Our Rights: We are Americans, Too."

As we reached the police line-up, the mayor stepped forward and ordered us to disperse within three minutes. But the police did not wait: they started shooting tear gas bombs at once. One policeman, turning on me, explained: "I want you!" and thereupon aimed one of the bombs directly at me.

The students moved back toward campus. Several girls were taken to the university hospital to be treated for burns. Six students were arrested, bringing the total arrests for the day to 35. Bond was set at \$500 each and within two days all were out.

The 11 of us arrested on February 3 were tried on March 17. There was no second postponement. The trial started promptly at 9:30. Five additional charges had been made against us, but were subsequently dropped. During the trial, Judge Rudd tried to keep race out of the case. He said it was not a factor in our arrest. But we realize it was the sole factor. The mayor in his testimony used the word "nigger" freely. We were convicted and sentenced to 60 days in jail or a \$300 fine. All 11 had agreed to go to jail but three paid fines upon advice of our attorneys.

So, here I am serving a 60-day sentence along with seven other CORE members. When I get out, I plan to carry on this struggle. I feel I shall be ready to go to jail again if necessary.

—Patricia Stephens  
Florida A. and M.

have awakened public interest in these problems. More than that, a large part of the general public and professional police officers, too, have become concerned about the intrusion of racial prejudice and discrimination into the operation of law enforcement agencies and the actions of law enforcement officers.

Our examination of the evidences which demonstrate that discrimination in police work is an un-American, unrewarding experience, paid for by both those who practice it as well as those who suffer it, will be limited to discrimination against Negroes.

#### Problems of Police

At the outset, let me make it clear that I recognize and sympathize with the problems of police officials in this so-called sensitive field. I recognize the fact that in many areas of this country there is a deep gap and lack of understanding between the police officials and the minority population in a particular city. I also recognize that this misunderstanding has brought about actual mistrust and mutual lack of respect between minorities and police. I sympathize with the individual police officer who believes, as I do, in protection of minority civil rights; but who is yet the victim of the misunderstanding brought about by police officials who actually suffer from deep-seated racial and religious prejudices. As a lawyer, I am, of course, aware of the similarity between the distrust that lawyers as a group, and the distrust of police as a group, suffer solely because of the willingness of the average community to blame all for the sins of a few.

Some years ago in a city in the deep South, I was staying at the home of a Negro who lived in the block which was the last block of a Negro community adjoining a white community. Sitting on the porch of that home I noticed a policeman coming down through the white block, patting the white children on the head, saying nice things to them with an obvious exhibition of good feeling on both sides. This same policeman, when he reached the Negro block, yelled at the Negro children, told them to get out of his way and just brushed by them with antagonism on both sides.

Similarly, in many northern cities, we have found that there is complete mistrust and suspicion between minority groups and the police and vice versa.

#### Awareness of Problem Necessary

It seems to me that we have to face this issue squarely. It exists in differing degrees from one end of the country to the other. There will be those who say that it is not a policeman's duty to change laws; nor to change community attitudes, mores and customs. There are also those who take the position that the police, as an arm of the government, have an equal responsibility in bringing about changes in customs and mores; especially now because such changes are dictated by law, either statutory or judicial. Regardless of how you approach this problem, it cannot be denied that a forward-looking efficient police official must be aware of the problem and the so-called delicate lines between one's individual prejudices and enforcement of the law of the land.

First, let us look at the law itself—the law as to civil rights, civil liberties and human rights. In this country, which, as you know, is a constitutional democracy, we have a government of laws and not of men. This is particularly pertinent for police officials. You will remember that, under Article Six of the United States Constitution, all state officials are required to take an oath to support the Constitution of the

United States as well as the constitutions of their particular states. The same Article of our Constitution makes it crystal clear in unmistakable language that the Federal Constitution is the Supreme Law of the land, state constitutions and laws to the contrary notwithstanding. While there have been variations in detail as to particular rights or provisions, the Federal Constitution is recognized as having been grounded in the theory that all men are created equal and stand equal before the law.

#### The Law of the Land

While, in the past, court decisions have upheld the right of state-imposed racial segregation in public facilities, recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court have made it clear that segregation in public facilities is unconstitutional; and this is true regardless of the state law. For the decision in the school segregation cases states specifically that state laws requiring segregation must "yield" to the Federal Constitution. So that as the law now stands, every citizen in the United States stands before you and any other official as the equal of any other American regardless of the color of his skin; his ancestry or previous condition.

Even if your personal belief might be that there is such a thing as inherent racial superiority or inferiority, you must bear in mind that scientists throughout this country have exploded the myth of inherent racial superiority or inferiority. Now the law has been made clear that such notices must be disregarded in any official action of any official of any state. Therefore, crime prevention, arrest of criminals, treatment of criminals and all other phases of police activity must be carried on with this basic understanding.

I would like to touch on one other point. It is usually not difficult for a police official to enforce a law against a citizen of the same race or religion and even a neighbor or close friend where the crime is one of violence, lust or violation of trust. However, where the incident or alleged collision with or disobedience of the law comes about as a result of a court decision involving segregation in schools, recreational centers, or any other situation involving the change of mores and customs, the same police official finds it more difficult to set aside his own personal prejudice and enforce the law without regard to these feelings.

#### Exception

There are, of course, many beautiful exceptions to this thesis. The latest one that I can remember is the action of the late police chief of Little Rock, Arkansas, who last year urged the white mob objecting to Negroes attending Central High to disperse and then when they refused to disperse used normal police tactics to disperse the crowd—no doubt including many of his friends—and to arrest those guilty of rioting.

Many individuals in this country still believe that Negroes as a group are either criminals or potential criminals, liars or potential liars or, at any rate, are not as good citizens as others. Indeed, I think many of you are familiar with the fact that at most state conventions of police and law enforcement officials, the Negro is invariably used as the brunt of the worst jokes—all involving the libelous beliefs just mentioned. While it is difficult to cope with the inner mind and the actions which it impels, the least the police official can do is to try and separate his personal beliefs from his official actions. As one police official put it.

"We don't have to look at a racial minority group to make that point. We can just think about our-

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## BOOK REVIEWS

# 'The Harmless People' Symbolized By Immeasurable Bounty of Peace

**"Beauty walks in splendor and works its havoc. Great huntsmen have their day; legend and mythology spin their subtle threads and their children are the happiest alive."**

**THE HARMLESS PEOPLE** by Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, Alfred Knopf, \$4.75, reviewed by Anne Taillefer.

A LITTLE under human scale there is a gentle people. They live close to South-West Africa and western Bechuanaland, in the Kalahari desert. Their existence is entirely nomadic. These are the Bushmen; the Kung Bushmen call themselves *shu twasi* the harmless people.

Living like wild animals they hunt game and burrow for roots and pick berries and desert melons, the tze melon. Shelter is provided by clearing werfs or space and arranging there shelters, nests of grass that are houses. The howling antarctic winds and the blistering sun tear alike at naked flesh hardly protected by a few strips of leather. When hard times come privations are unutterable for water itself is lacking and moist roots will be the only diet.

### Live in Fear

Though incredibly hardy they are weaker than most men in simple power, they live in fear and flight is their surest friend. Their experience of white or bantu people has been disastrous, they have been beaten and exploited. Among the destitute they are the most destitute of all. Among the poor they are the poorest. And yet . . .

In our machine and plumbing geared society their norms and customs born of necessity fill us with horror and disgust. These are probably simply those of the first men to appear on earth. But in our war and hatred torn world, where the richest can devise the easiest and best way of wiping away humanity, they hold immeasurable bounty:

peace. By nature and by condition they cannot abide or afford jealousy, hatred or strife and who owns a knife must lend it immediately if it is coveted. When torn with hunger if they have managed to kill a gemsbok (desert goat) they will follow a complicated pattern of sharing and give the greater part to their kinsmen. Their moral code is rigid from a certain point of view and they abide to it. A fearful mortality rules them and they diminish rapidly. Their sorrows are such that imagination hardly encompasses them and only the very robust survive.

### Live and Love

And yet they live and love. Romance rears its head in spite of a harsh code of marriage that takes care of women but despoils the young men. Beauty walks in splendor and works its havoc. Great huntsmen have their day; legend and mythology spin their subtle threads and their children are the happiest alive.



# 'The Idea of Catholicism' Is Anthology of Catholic Ideas

LIKE THE authors of this book I prefer not to announce that it is an anthology. I personally have never found anthologies too attractive. They usually end up in the most inaccessible part of my bookshelf to gather dust like other "reference" books. I hasten to add that I wish for this book a brighter future than most anthologies seem to enjoy—at least by my hands.

The *Idea of Catholicism* has two parts, the first consisting of a series of selections from various authors which quite successfully presents, in a unified and organic way, the central themes of Catholic Theology. Although the book is referred to in the subtitle

is an introduction to the thought and worship of the Church, it really is intended for the serious reader and man of books. Thus, there are generous portions from such writers as Cardinal Suhard, Gerald Vann, Yves M. J. Congar, Yves de Montcheui, and others of the same spirit. The style of the writing by and large is magnificent.

Part II of this book is an intriguing library of such materials as the great creeds of the Church, her central prayers, selections from the great spiritual writers of the Church like St. Ignatius and even papal documents attempting to relate the Church vitally to present-day problems and the advances of human civilization.

As I turned the pages of this book, sampling selections that caught my interest I couldn't help thinking what a different book this might have been had it been authored by someone else. What I mean to say is that although there is one doctrinal idea of Catholicism, there are so many variations in spirit and tone and languages in which it has been expressed, one is really confronted with different "ideas" of Catholicism which although part and parcel of the same doctrinal idea are nevertheless empty-sounding and frighteningly irrelevant to our world and to us who live in it. This is not true of *The Idea of Catholicism*.

—Russell Baria



# Difficult To Give Money Away

(Continued from page 1)

and individual worth, and about our obligation to love all men as ourselves. I think in this case we ought to fish or cut bait, put up or shut up!"

Dan Krutch, who wanted to help a nephew on Taiwan, was purple.

"Joe," he said, "you can't talk that way to me!"

This remark really zoomed the discussion into orbit. It ranged all the way from racial prejudice to currency convertibility, the missile lag, the population explosion, the nature of Communism, and various estimates of Kennedy's chances in November.

At the end of two more hours I wearily raised my hand.

Elizabeth Marshall Thomas spent two years among them at different times with an expedition under the auspices of the Peabody Museum of Harvard. To it she did not bring the soul and knowledge of an anthropologist, though from this angle her book is most rewarding, but that of a poet and a deeply compassionate woman of infinite perception. Her identification to her new friends is such that we do not know at the end whom we like most, moving in perfect amity in this strange world. With her we meet Beautiful Unga, (a Bushman Helen), and Lazy Kwi, Gai the Hunter and the old Ukwane. We witness the Sun dances and hear the Moon songs in that unique clicking tongue that has won the surname of Hottentot to their neighbors. From the Kung Tribe we pass to the Gikwe from the Naron to the Ko. We are introduced to a completely primitive society whose customs are however sometimes most admirable. For instance at sun-down the men visit other men but the women stay in their shelter, though all are at an arm's distance, for woman's place is at home.

### He Cast a Spell

Above all we feel the atmosphere in a delicate language both evocative and compelling whether it describes a giant baobab, the desert's only trees: "the bark is thin and smooth and rather pink and sags in folds toward the base of the tree like the skin of an elephant leg, which is why a baobab is sometimes called an elephant tree. Its trunk is soft and pulpy, like a carrot instead of wooden and if you lean against it you find that it is warm from the sun and you expect to hear a great heart beating inside . . ." at the beginning, or leaves us thus "That evening we camped beside an omaramba where the air was warm and pale, lit by the three-quarter moon; the wind made the dry leaves of a mangeti tree over our heads tap together and before we went to sleep we heard a leopard coughing far away, then growling nearer, a rattle, a rumble of a growl. In the morning we got up long before dawn because of a veld fire that someone had seen coming toward us; it made a huge red light in the black sky like the open



### Previous Question

"Mr. President," I said, trying desperately to choke off the discussion, "I call for the previous question."

I was promptly shouted down and the incredibly lively discussion continued with the greatest vigor and eloquence. When the project was finally approved by a unanimous vote, I was completely frustrated, disgusted and exhausted.

Frank Alonzo leaned over and touched my arm.

"Cheer up," he said. "We have so few opportunities to say anything, either at home or in the Church, that we really wanted to sink our teeth into your important project. The penny sale can wait. Thanks very much. It was the most enjoyable evening I've spent in years!"

—John O'Connor

# Sit-Ins First Victory Happens In Nashville

**Nashville, Tenn.** The first major breakthrough by Negroes in their passive-demonstration campaign took place when groups of four or five Negroes walked quietly into six Nashville stores, sat down at the lunch counters, ordered, and were served.

The campaign which began in Greensboro, North Carolina in February and included sit-downs in every Southern state except Mississippi, resulted in trial or token desegregation of some lunch counters in a few cities. But the lowering of color bars in Nashville was the first large-scale restaurant desegregation in the downtown section of any large Southern city except in Texas, where a few cities have successfully integrated their eating places.

Secret negotiations for a settlement began after a period of demonstrations which resulted in violence and a number of arrests, culminating in the bombing of a Negro City Councilman's home. A proposal for partial integration of lunch counters had been turned down by the Negro leaders. As a result of the negotiations, store managers finally agreed to serve small groups of Negroes. They, in their turn, agreed not to ask for service in the department-store dining rooms.

doors of an inferno, but as the dawn winds lifted it blew back on itself and went out. The sky slowly got gray, then pale rose and then, hundreds of miles away, the great sun lifted from the veld's horizon and with the light we found the leopard's footprints which he had left us as he had walked around us in two great circles, as though he had cast a spell."

### Won Trust

With infinite patience Miss Marshall and her companions won the trust and love of the bushmen but did not dare advise them to trust in other men. There is a racking moment when a man, Short Kwi, having fallen into a trap contracts gangrene of the leg and the only way out is the hospital in Windhoek (South-West Africa). In a few minutes Elizabeth and her mother try to tell his wife, through an interpreter of elementary hygiene, what is a safety pin, a faucet, traffic, what money means. The two worlds are so far apart that night stands between them.

This is a book of extreme beauty and humanity, a little master-piece of prose; it also holds an eternal message. Only a spirit of complete poverty can save man from war and one wonders if rendered to civilization Miss Marshall and her companions did not sometimes feel as poor relations to such wisdom?

—Anne Taillefer

COMMUNITY



## Image of Police

(Continued from page 5)

selves. I run into far too many people who think of a policeman as an ignorant, flat-footed, stupid fellow that any private detective or layman can outwit. This stereotype of us has been developed in detective stories, in the movies, in cartoons, and on the stage. We know there are as many different kinds of people in police work as there are patterns of finger prints. Yet some of us have the stereotyped idea that a Negro is lazy, indolent, lustful, and carries a razor. And that thinking doesn't work for us as policemen. Until we realize that there are just as many different kinds of Negroes as there are different kinds of policemen, we shan't be able to make intelligent and creditable decisions."

### J. Edgar Hoover Quoted

An even more difficult problem is the one brought about where the Governor, the Mayor and other officials are openly opposed to the democratic principle of equality of all citizens without regard to race. In such instances, the police official, convinced in his own mind of the theory I am advocating, finds himself in the middle. The answer to such a problem is a simple one. That is, you merely face the problem of separating the men from the boys. If there is any question as to the right and wrong of the position the policeman should take, perhaps it would be wise to quote from the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, where he has stated:

"Law enforcement is a career service. Each officer should dedicate his life to the service and protection of others. A successful police officer must put aside his personal opinions in the line of duty, renounce pursuit of wealth, and seek only the highest good for the organization he represents so that the community may live in peace and security. The badge of a law enforcement officer is a sacred trust which must be guarded with his whole mind and his whole body, for it is his to hold only while he lives a life beyond all reproach and censure."

"The law enforcement officer is the guardian of civil rights, the protector of the weak, and the defender of the innocent. The community recognizes his training in public service and his loyal devotion to duty. He is the friend of every child and the ally of each law-abiding adult. By far the greater portion of his work is the removing of the ugly finger of suspicion from innocent persons."

"A modern law enforcement officer is a well-bred gentleman of clean habits, high morals, clear mind, and sound body. Well trained in his profession, he treats all with respect without deference to anyone. . . ."

### Practical Problems

Bear in mind that I am not just talking about theory. I am talking about what is perhaps the most important factor in bringing about the unity of this country so necessary in these trying times. Bear in mind that, while Negroes are in the minority in this country, darker people form from two-thirds to three-fourths of the population of the world today. This country can no longer preach democracy to Asia and Africa and practice racial discrimination at home. The world picture today, with short wave radio, jet planes, including one due next year with a speed of 2,000 miles an hour, in this country we can no longer sweep racial discrimination and other problems under the rug and dispose of them that way. Even more important from a strictly moral principle, human beings must be recognized as human beings and the policemen must treat all in the community as people. The first thing you must understand is that people vary infinitely; they range from good to bad and from stalwart citizens to vicious criminals, yet all without regard to race, color or religion. You must also realize that all must be treated as individuals, not as stereotypes.

How shall this be done? First of all,

## Examine Detroit Areas Sociological Changes

### Relocation, Renewal Neighborhood Change To Affect All Areas

IN DESCRIBING some of the major characteristics of the urban community, we may begin by considering one of its basic physical features. The Detroit community, for example, like many other large communities, is composed of three main growth areas: the old central core of the city, a large middle-aged area, and the newly developed sections of the suburbs. Within the old core area of Detroit, for example, are about 100,000 dwellings, generally built prior to the turn of the century. Many show obvious signs of decay and obsolescence and require clearance and re-development. Just outside this core area in Detroit are 300,000 homes in the middle-aged neighborhoods. These are the homes and neighborhoods in need of conservation and improvement to prevent them from becoming future slums. Finally, the third area of the community is the newly developed portion near the boundaries and in the suburban sections. The 300,000 new homes in these Detroit neighborhoods are in good condition at the moment, but they too can deteriorate if they are neglected.

In recent years the urban community has grown in almost fantastic fashion. As of 1958, for example, for the first time, it was estimated that in the Detroit area there was a majority of the roughly 4,000,000 people living outside the city limits.

### City and Suburbs Compared

Since 1940, the total population of Detroit City (not including Highland Park or Hamtramck) has increased by about 14 per cent as over against the increase in the Tri-County area (excluding Detroit City) of over 60 per cent. Since 1950, the comparative increase figures are even more dramatic: less than three per cent increase in Detroit as over against more than 30 per cent in the Tri-County area. This slightly more than 4,000,000 population now lives in about 130 separate political units: villages, townships, cities, counties whose autonomy makes effective planning difficult.

The population of the urban community is heterogeneous. In Detroit, the largest distinguishable racial, religious and ethnic groups are the Poles, the

a policeman must convince himself that under the law that this government requires non-discrimination on the basis of race or religion. He must convince himself that this is the law of the land and that he cannot overrule the law of the land; nor can he disregard it. Next he must realize that, when he is on duty, his every action must be on that basis. He cannot make a practice of calling one citizen "Mr." and another "boy." He must recognize that a Negro in the eyes of the law is innocent until proved guilty, the same as anyone else. He must realize that he has no more right to unlawfully and without provocation, on the pretense of protecting himself, beat the poor defenseless Negro any more than to take his billy to the leading white citizen of the city. In other words, it is my thesis that the police official in the United States has a tremendous responsibility to on one hand recognize the equality of man without regard to race and on the other hand to do his part to destroy the image that the policeman is the oppressor of the civil rights of minority groups.

### Conclusion

In recognizing this as more than



Scene from Trumbull Park where as many as 1200 policemen were needed to control racial disturbances. Better police action in the beginning might have prevented this.

Italians, the Jews, the Negroes. Many members of each of these groups live close together in identifiable geographic areas of the city. Often this concentration of members of a particular group in a circumscribed area is misinterpreted to mean that these people live a life that is culturally separated from the rest of the community. While to some limited extent this may be true of Jews, and of some first generation Poles and Italians, it is not completely true of any of these peoples, and it is especially not true of the Negro.

### Negroes Segregated

As elsewhere, the Negro community is one segregated primarily because of external pressures. Negroes, even though they may live in close proximity, and often in very high density, do not constitute a natural neighborhood that all its residents desire to preserve. Negro people, like most others in any of today's vast urban centers, belong to a host of interest groups; it is these interest groups, rather than the compact local areas in which they have been compelled to live, that truly characterize their social life. Detroit, like other modern cities, is a mass community. Its residents are attuned to mass instruments of social control: the police, the law, the courts, the prisons. They are sub-

ject—all of them—to the mass media of communications: T.V., radio, the movies, newspapers, magazines, bestseller novels, billboards. The people of the city, regardless of where in the city they live, or what their racial or religious characteristics are, respond to pretty much the same mass symbols of achievement: a Cadillac convertible, a good house in an attractive neighborhood, fine clothes for oneself and family, a job promotion, pay raises, the respect of friends and colleagues, sending one's children off to college. The mass community, it should be noted, contains very few important racial or religious barriers, except those imposed and enforced by the dominant majority.

Another obvious social characteristic of the urban community is the mobility of its population. The city itself is a result of population movement from the farms and countryside. This movement has been especially heavy during periods of war and war preparation: the early forties and early fifties. Many of those newcomers have been Negroes, who, because of insecure jobs and generally lower incomes, and because of formal or informal restrictions elsewhere, were forced to crowd into the oldest and most deteriorated areas of the urban community.

Movement Within City

In addition to the rural to urban mobility, urban communities may be characterized by another type of movement: that from the interior—especially from middle-aged areas of the city—to its fringes or suburbs. What is essential to recognize about this movement is that it has not been simply random, individual or isolated families who are moving out, but rather that one whole category of people is moving out, while another whole category of people is gradually moving into these interior neighborhoods, especially the middle-aged, conservation areas.

A graphic example of the racial distribution of the growing metropolitan population is provided if we note that since 1940 the white population of Detroit has actually decreased by about 5,000 or more people. During the same time, the Negro population of Detroit City has increased by about 300,000. About 23-24 per cent of Detroit City's population is now Negro. During this same period since 1940, the white population of the Tri-County area (excluding Detroit City) has increased by about a million, while the Negro population of that Tri-County area has increased by only 60,000. About 4.5 per

theory but as a belief to be put into practice, I fully recognize the concurrent responsibility of the minority groups to recognize this change and to do all in their power to break down their resentment against police as a whole. It is a two way street but if both sides wait for the other to move, there can very well be no movement. Because the police have full authority of the state and the badge, the gun and nightstick to support them, it would be well for the police to make the first move by demonstrating in clear and unmistakable action their recognition of Negroes as people, as citizens with rights which will be respected to the same degree as those of any other citizen.

In closing, I commend to you the words of the Chief Justice of the United States, who, speaking recently at the Centennial Celebration of Northwestern University's Law School, said:

"We must recognize . . . that justice, equality and freedom under law are the basic right of every person—and can be denied to none except at peril to the rights of all."

—Thurgood Marshall

(Continued on page 8)



# Neighborhood Change To Affect All Areas

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cent of the population of the Tri-County area is Negro.

## Class Problems

On the other hand, it is not possible to ignore the fact that in some other neighborhoods where the newcomers—whether Negro or white—are of a different social class than the present residents, various kinds of conflict and disturbance occur which prompt some present residents to leave. Such situations as knifings, extortions, beatings do occur in some changing neighborhoods. However, these are cases, rather than racial characteristics, and they are not an inevitable aspect of the pattern of change in all neighborhoods. Where these situations do exist, there is sound basis for concern. Indeed, the middle class Negro families are as concerned and fearful as the middle class whites about such intimidation and violence.

Whether these new owners of second-hand homes in middle-aged neighborhoods make efforts physically to improve their property depends not on their race, religion, or nationality, but on their motivation, their housekeeping habits, and their available money. Certainly there is no evidence that property that changes hands always continues to deteriorate. Ample data show that much inherited, poorly kept property is better cared for by the new owners than by former ones.

Another factor related to the out-movement of whites is found in the several reported instances of intimidation which some whites have resorted to in an effort to scare off new Negro residents. Sometimes these efforts succeed; other times they fail in their objective.

## Negroes Moving Outward

One trend of movement in our cities is of Negro families moving out of the blighted core area and into better neighborhoods; this movement will continue indefinitely, despite intimidation, until eventually Negroes are very widely distributed over the entire metropolitan area.

While examining characteristics and trends of the urban community, we cannot ignore the various urban renewal programs and their effects on the racial patterns of the community.

Urban renewal has two main dimensions: a redevelopment or slum elimination aspect, and a conservation or slum prevention aspect.

The slum elimination program, of course, is intended to apply mainly within the old dilapidated core of the city: the slum prevention program is intended to apply to the middle-aged neighborhoods, specifically, but also in modified form to the new growth areas.

Neighborhood Conservation seeks to prevent the further encroachment of blight in those middle-aged neighborhoods considered still sound enough to be worth saving.

One effect of large-scale redevelopment has been, and will be, the displacement of thousands of people, especially Negroes, from the deteriorated areas in which they now live. Where are these people to go? Where will they relocate? This is not merely a matter of relocation of displaced people; it is essentially a matter of relocation of displaced Negro people. This is a pertinent distinction in the city, where we know that some whites are moving away because of the existence and presence of Negroes in their hitherto racially homogeneous areas. Will redevelopment renewal be the dynamic that helps push out of the city's core the many remaining Negro families not pulled already to the other areas of the city by the lure of more space, better houses, newer schools, more recrea-

tional facilities, and other, middle-aged amenities?

## Relocation Examined

The likelihood is great that most of these displacees will not return to the same old area. Much of the new housing in these old areas will doubtless be of a price beyond their reach. On these slum sites now stand, or will stand, much middle and upper middle income housing. Most of the former residents will have relocated elsewhere long before the new luxury housing is erected. Some will have moved to what public housing sites are available to them; others will have simply sought quarters a few blocks from their former homes, perhaps moving into an already overcrowded dwelling, which, obviously, will create a new slum, or worsen an existing slum condition; some few others may buy a house—often their first—in one of the middle-aged neighborhoods, the somewhat brighter, more spacious areas just beyond the slums, that beckon invitingly to those able to amass the requisite down payment. Some of those who are displaced, and who choose to relocate in these middle-aged neighborhoods, may not have the funds to do so; they may pool their resources, and together with one or more other families, seek to purchase one of the large middle-aged homes that characterize the conservation neighborhoods. The presence of any number of these conditions of overcrowding, often accompanied by an ignorance of urban ways, and by an abundance of lower class modes and mannerisms, prompt the middle class residents of these middle-aged neighborhoods, both Negro and white, to consider moving out even further towards the suburbs, sometimes into them. Thus in centrifugal fashion, encouraged by the momentum of necessary redevelopment in the core of the city, wave after wave of people, first Negroes mainly, then both whites and Negroes, and then whites mainly are being pushed to relocate. Complicating the entire issue is the factor of social class with its accompanying pressures. As displaced lower class families move into hitherto middle class neighborhoods, in many instances they bring with them over-crowding, different tenancy standards, rural folkways, and different speech, dietary and dress customs. Upon such an invasion middle class families, quite apart from racial considerations (although in some instances these underlie the manifest concerns), are often prompted to move to other residential quarters. Those who can afford to move do so; the others live and long for the day when they can escape. Usually the escape is to the fringes of the city or to the suburbs.

It is relevant to note that the community has not yet mobilized its resources to undertake a massive urban adjustment program to provide help, encouragement and education to these newcomers to assist them to become assimilated urban citizens.

## Future of Central City

Another possible consequence of redevelopment renewal is to clear the central core of the city of some of its Negro population, and by virtue of middle and upper middle income housing proposed for the cleared land, to introduce potentially a new ecological arrangement, with middle and upper middle income families occupying former slum sites. It remains to be seen what the racial composition of this new middle class population will be. That there are many Negroes financially able to afford this housing is unquestioned. The questions, however, are whether this housing will be available on an open occupancy basis, and if it is, whether there will be a fair, unrestricted distribution of both Negro and white residents. In short, will whites in large number be willing to move into these middle income houses if Negroes are also permitted, with or without any kind of quota control.

In addition to the impact of redevelopment on the racial patterns of the city, we may note that the other dimension of urban renewal, conservation, is also related to these patterns, although in different ways. Some conservation neighborhoods are those into which many Negroes are now moving, and into which they have been moving, especially during the past decade. These neighborhoods are physically middle-aged, and many at present contain a racially mixed population. These neighborhoods generally represent one frontier of interracial relationships. In some instances the transition has not yet occurred, and the neighborhood is presently homogeneous with regard to class. In a few of the middle-aged or conservation neighborhoods, no racial change has yet begun. Whether or not these middle-aged, or second layer neighborhoods are invaded and at what time they are invaded is probably influenced by a number of variables including: their proximity to the core of Negro residency, the solidarity of the population presently inhabiting them, and the cost of their housing.

The consequence of a conservation program that includes careful citizen organization will serve mainly as a means of further educating both Negroes and whites to live together peacefully and cooperatively. Lessons learned in this kind of situation are useful both immediately and in the future when the pattern of residential racial segregation has been broken.

## Future of Conservation Areas

In the long run, however, this instance of cordiality between the races will be insufficient to keep very many of the white residents in these neighborhoods. Some will stay for a time because they cannot afford to leave; others will stay for a while to see the proposed public improvements which they have helped work for; others will stay because they are too old to move elsewhere; and some few will also stay because they genuinely like their houses and don't want to leave. Ultimately, however, all the whites will pass away or will leave, as will many of the present Negro residents. They will all leave because of the invasion of the neighborhood by lower class Negroes or whites, seeking a place to live, and willing to overcrowd the large houses in the area to do so. The last whites will also have the additional reason that they are unwilling to be the only whites in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. This will be true even of these without children; indeed, most of those with children in the public schools have left long ago or are in the process of leaving as soon as possible. They are leaving even if they are racially unprejudiced; they are leaving for the same reason that the middle class Negroes are leaving: to find a school situation where their children will mingle with children of similar educational background and aspiration. In this regard, we may suggest that predominantly white Catholic neighborhoods may show a high degree of solidarity longer than non-Catholic neighborhoods, because by sending their children to the Catholic schools, the parents avoid one of the major factors forcing otherwise unprejudiced families out of changing or mixed neighborhoods. This is incidentally a reason why many

middle class Negro families, faced with the same situation and unable to move, are also sending their children to Catholic schools.

## Future of Metropolitan Area

Pressure to move, then, is on the residents of the middle-aged conservation neighborhoods, as well as on the residents of redevelopment neighborhoods. This movement and search for housing by whites and Negroes will tend to introduce an unending series of one or two family invasions of what have been up to now exclusively white neighborhoods. We may expect to read or hear about many more "racial incidents" in the areas just beyond the middle-aged neighborhoods. This outmovement from the conservation neighborhoods will be directly encouraged, of course, by whatever land clearance occurs in them as part of the physical replanning of the area. Some goodly portion of homes, regardless of condition, will be demolished to make way for necessary public improvements. Present residents of these homes will be displaced persons seeking housing, and they will turn not to the core of the city, but to the fringes and suburbs to search for homes. Ultimately, we may expect to find that Negroes are living in all the neighborhoods of the metropolitan area, wherever they desire to live and can afford to live.

This, however, will not come about immediately or without difficulty. There are still whites living now in the fringes and suburbs who moved there in the first place primarily to escape Negro invasion of their former neighborhoods. Some of these persons are organized into what are euphemistically called "protective" or "homeowner" associations. One of the central, though unspoken, purposes of many of these groups is to prevent Negroes and other minorities from buying or renting in their neighborhoods. In the long run, however, given the current values of our society and given, too, the clear-cut decisions of the Federal courts, these associations cannot win. But before they acknowledge defeat, they can and may cause considerable tension in our communities by organizing resistance every time a Negro family seeks to move beyond the very real, though invisible, lines that serve as present boundaries to Negro residency. The effectiveness of these organizations will be determined by the degree of previous preparation for interracial living that has gone on in any given neighborhood, the courage and sanity of other residents of these neighborhoods who appreciate the right of all people to live wherever they can afford to, the impartiality and efficiency of the local police force, and the financial ability of the members of these associations. At most, these "protective" associations can delay the time when minority group members move freely throughout the regional community. They cannot prevent that day from arriving: the direction has already been set by the basic values of the society at large. And there are too many people, young and old, Negro and white alike who are determined to square democratic practice with democratic preachment. In the long run—and it may not be so long—the population trend of our urban communities is towards an open housing market.

—Mel Ravitz

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